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The Washington whirl

All that glitters is not Gwendolyn's — but it will be soon

By John B. Stone
GUARDIAN Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON

WASHINGTON, with the congressional circus in recess, is going through that deceptive appearance of quiet which precedes the feverish formal opening of the winter social season.

Society editors and those hangers-on who come for the food and liquor are licking their chops in anticipation of the biggest blowout bonanza in recent Washington history.

Those not familiar with the Washington know-how, which has kept many a penniless initiate well-fed and well-oiled these many years, are worried lest the absence of Perle Mesta and the White House from the social calendar would mean a dulling of lights and spirits.

WHAT DUCHESS? Perle, the lady who inherited fabulous fortune from Oklahoma oil and Pennsylvania machine tools and invested it in both parties (political), is not around this season. She is engaged in a brand new social escalation in Luxembourg, according to foreign correspondents lately returned here from those parts. With her charming and bland directness of purpose, which won her appointment as minister to the tiny duchy, she set out to establish herself as No. 1 Girl there, even before the Grand Duchess got back from summer vacation. This, according to Hoyle, was not the thing. But Washington is putting its cash on Perle in the Duchy Dowager Derby.

And the White House is out of bounds this year too. Termites and decay have forced its closing for rehabilitation. The Trumans are staying at Blair House, which is too small for even a fair-sized breakfast party. Boss Truman has stated in unequivocal terms that, social season or no social season, there will be no official receptions this year by the First Family.

ADORABLE GWEN: But after sedulous briefing by social columnists and a couple of ladies who go to all the right parties, your correspondent is able to report that the show will go on.

"What," said one lovely thing with a cooing Southern drawl, "if we haven't got Perle this year? We do have that most **adorable** Gwendolyn.

"She has clothes. She may not be **beautiful**, but she wears the most **divine** things . . .and you know she always lets you know how **much** they cost. Why the other day I saw her in a **beautiful** frock. She said 'Oh, it's just a little thing I bought at Garfinckel's for $350.'"

Then the sweet smile and the tiny blade poised for the kill: "Do you know, mister, she actually **wore** her $38,000 diamond necklace to a little breakfast the other morning."

GWEN'S MORRIS: Gwen is the wife of Morris Cafritz, who probably owns more modernistic apartment buildings than any other individual in the U.S. He's a quiet guy, well liked, a member of the board of the Riggs National Bank. His father was a small grocer in southwest Washington. Morris parlayed an early New Deal FHA loan into one of the country's biggest real estate fortunes.

He married Gwen 20 years ago in Budapest. She was the daughter of a distinguished physician.

Society heard almost nothing of the Cafritzes until Evalyn Walsh McLean with her Hope diamond disappeared from the capital scene. There was a tussle for a few months between Gwen, who was feeling her husband's money, and Perle. Experience told and Perle won in a walk.

GWEN and FRIEND
Tom, you didn't shave!

IT'S NOTHING, REALLY: With Perle safe in Luxembourg, the field is open for Gwen. She even has something to compete with the Hope diamond. Last May, as a 20th anniversary present, Morris bought her $65,000 worth of trinkets from the George W. Child Drexel estate of Philadelphia. These included 300 diamonds, a couple of big emeralds and the famous breakfast necklace.

Yes, it seems dull, but the nights are full of intimate little parties of not more than a thousand. There is the Fairfax Hunt in Fairfax County, Va., pink coats and all. Secretary of Commerce Charles Sawyer, all dolled up, was one of 100 who weekended at the Spring Glade Farm of the Leslie Smiths for the opening.

Mighty problems already have arisen. Mr. Justice Tom C. Clark complains that he can't use his electric razor on the five o'clock shadow now, like he did when he was Attorney General. The Supreme Court building has direct current—and the Justice's razor uses alternating!

Make Marc Mayor!

Last Monday President Truman took a day off from cold war calculations to make a speech about peace at the dedication of the new UN buildings in New York. After the speech Mayor O'Dwyer (who is devoting a good part of his re-election campaign to attacking the late Fiorello La Guardia) helped the President on with his coat (above) as Governor Dewey (the man who wanted to be Harry) picked up the papers. As Mr. Truman said goodbye to O'Dwyer later that day he said: "Well, I hope it did some good. I hope it did some good." For peace? No. He meant for O'Dwyer's campaign. (See Report to Readers, p. 2).

Henry A. Wallace

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THE MAILBAG

Schuman on Stalin

BRONX, N. Y.

Just one comment on the Oct. 24 book review. Schuman on Stalin: A Political Biography seems to get a little muddled. First quoting Deutscher, the author, on the impossibility of writing a "private" biography, he next shows how Deutscher anyhow makes conclusions on Stalin's family which are "unsubstantiated and probably untrue." Fine. But despite this, our reviewer, in his admiration for book and author, allows his article to close in the hands of Deutscher with this quote: "He (Stalin) started as the servant of an insurgent people and made himself its master. . . ."

Now the last to me is a controversial statement and leads me to believe that the author isn't as coldly objective as Schuman imagines. In fact, he's probably pretty close to the decried Trotsky view. I wouldn't read an ex-Communist report on Stalin anyhow since I like my bias straight. It seems to me that any man should be judged on his deeds and not on speculation of personal motivations.

My personal conclusion after hearing all sides for years is that Stalin is a popular leader and gets elected every time on the basis of his good record. And this conclusion makes no pretense at phony "objectivity."

Joseph Jaffe

•

Robeson in Washington

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Recently Washington witnessed a packed house turnout at Turner's Arena for Paul Robeson. There was no disorder. The citizens of Washington proved they are not afraid. Paul even had the police's full attention when he sang "Ol' Man River." But speaking of the police, I'd like to toss a bouquet to our police force, for they really did do a good job. There could not have been a Peekskill here.

Richard Ham

Political figleaf

TORONTO, CANADA

If you raise hue and cry over Macy's "middle policy" on books, how would you feel about a note like this one from a very fine book

> THE BOOK FIND CLUB
> 401 BROADWAY • NEW YORK 13, N. Y.
>
> DEAR MEMBER:
>
> WE REGRET TO INFORM YOU THAT WE SHALL BE UNABLE TO FILL ORDERS FOR THE NAKED AND THE DEAD BY NORMAN MAILER AS THIS BOOK HAS BEEN BANNED IN CANADA.

club? Canadians can't read anything that doesn't suit the censors' "political tastes."

Stephen Kopman

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Old eyewash

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

In the Rutgers Alumni Monthly, a letter from one Sam. C. Schenck (Rutgers '39) violently attacks Paul Robeson (Rutgers '19)—basely and falsely accusing him of advocating violent revolution and saying he should be shot. He further calls Paul Robeson a "black n----r going white"—a truly foul epithet—insulting in this way the whole effort of the Negro people to achieve freedom and equality. He finally calls on all Rutgers men to attack Robeson with baseball bats any time he tries to give a concert. We now certainly know who really believes in force and violence.

H. David Hammond

P.S.—I'm Rutgers '45 and right now not so sure I'm proud of it.

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Interracial marriage

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

In regard to Mr. Felix Turnbull's statements on my letter about interracial marriage, my complaint is not that progressives are not marrying each other to make a homogeneous colored race. I did not mention a colored race. I referred to the one human race which includes whites, Negroes, orientals and all minority groups. My complaint is that progressives will not tolerate those advocating interracial marriage. Felix Turnbull has proved my point.

If I am wrong let us see some other progressive stand up for interracial marriage. The minority group problem goes beyond economic salvation. Does Mr. Turnbull know of a better way to promote love between different races than through interracial marriages? Mr. Turnbull says: "When such mixed marriages are desired they can lawfully take place." Does he know how many states prohibit marriage between different races in the United States?

John L. Holman Jr.

•

Shalom!

TEL AVIV, ISRAEL

A short time ago I discovered your newspaper on the stands here. We here are quite interested in what is going on in your land. You are perhaps the element that has given me the greatest hope for a real world peace.

I would like to observe that I do not accept your program or even your political direction in its entireness. Nevertheless, you are the swellest fighting paper in the whole, poor U. S. A.

D. Am

•

Thanks, Whit

HARVIELL, MO.

At the first anniversary of our great progressive paper: the GUARDIAN has been so terrific during the past six months, that I have not written anything for fear it would crowd out some of the more important articles that offset the long line of liars and "HOKUS POKUS" prattle in the commercial press.

Out of all the stuff we hear and read, there's darn little we can believe. For instance the Jackie Robinson testimony before the un-American committee—the Big Papers had all of us at Jackie's throat until the GUARDIAN came to us with the truth.

It gave us the facts on the Trenton Six, facts on hoodlum activity in the various states and cities. It called a spade a spade in the Peekskill incident. Without our GUARDIAN we would still be scratching our heads and wondering what actually happened. It is doing a wonderful job in understanding the who and why within our union (CIO). Thank God for such a paper.

The ALP's forming a complete slate of its own headed by "Marc" is the greatest news I've heard since the birth of the GUARDIAN.

Owen Whitfield

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What Max meant

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

I am very much disturbed about the article written by Max Werner stating "Soviet A-Bomb Makes Monkey Out of the Atlantic Pact."

Werner implies France is now defenseless against the Russian A-bomb, etc., etc. What is all this war talk from a progressive?

Dan Lester

Quite the contrary. Max Werner, a man of peace and one of the very few military analysts who said Russia would take Hitler's measure, was making the point that the Soviet A-bomb made war more remote by balancing power. Ed.

•

Brown, Wallace, Debs

RICHMOND CALIF.

The letter captioned "John Brown's soul" needs comment. For example, the final sentence where John Brown, Henry A. Wallace and Eugene V. Debs are grouped as men who "dare take . . . affairs into their own hands." John Brown did just that, with arms. Neither Mr. Wallace nor Mr. Debs ever took up arms or advocated so doing. Certainly a basic difference among the three men exists.

The essential difference in the periods in which John Brown and Paul Robeson figure is ignored in the letter. John Brown took up arms to fight an evil—slavery—which was then legal. Paul Robeson's concert was in complete accordance with the law of the land. The violence and lawbreaking were on the part of those who attacked Mr. Robeson and his audience.

I do not believe that our times are "becoming like pre-Civil War days." There is an increased realization that the law and the Constitution must not be flouted by any group.

Samuel Ginsburg

How about it?

CLEVELAND, OHIO

HOW ABOUT LETTERS ON NEW YORK CITY CAMPAIGN FROM ALL OF US IN THE HINTERLANDS TO ALL OUR FRIENDS IN NEW YORK CITY BACKING UP THE ALP CAMPAIGN IN THE COMING ELECTION.

Joe Hill

•

29 for better luck

CHICAGO, ILL.

I am one of those pre-publication subscribers. I like the GUARDIAN so much that I gave you 29 subs the first year, and not the four for luck. I really believe that when we get a million subs, we will have a good chance to lick the warmongers.

Saul Lapp

Name the country

By Jerome Davis

THIS summer I toured Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland. I tried to talk with people alone to discover what they were really thinking and experiencing. Once while traveling on a train I talked with a man where no one could hear us. I found out that he was employed in the service of the War Dept. of his country. I asked him if the government was not spending far too much money on the military. He admitted they were. I then asked if a lot of it was not being wasted in graft. He said it certainly was.

"What would happen if you made a constructive criticism about all this?" I inquired.

The man replied: "I would not dare do it. Everyone has to keep his mouth shut if he hopes to survive. In actual fact every one who really believes in democracy these days has to go underground."

This was getting exciting. I continued to question him. "But actually if you saw large scale waste or corruption couldn't you make constructive suggestions to your superiors?"

"If I did, I would be immediately fired if not jailed," was his reply.

WHEN AND IN WHAT COUNTRY DO YOU THINK THIS CONVERSATION TOOK PLACE?

Answer on p. 11

Report to readers

Where F. D. R. was on United Nations Day

By James Aronson

LAST Monday noon Harry S. Truman, the jaunty toastmaster of the washed-out Fair Deal, rolled into town from Washington. Flanked by an escort of 107 police motorcycles with sirens screaming, he rode from Pennsylvania Station across to the East River. There, by virtue of his high office, he dedicated the permanent headquarters of the United Nations.

He said benediction over a Charter whose principles he long ago abandoned. This man, who has given his name—forever—to a Doctrine that is murdering men, women and children to preserve a decaying order, spoke pious words of peace, of his faith in the "center of man's hope for peace and a better life."

He said not one word about Franklin D. Roosevelt. And the spirit of Franklin Roosevelt was not with him. Nobody—but nobody—at the dedication mentioned the name of Roosevelt, one of the main architects of the United Nations. As she sat quietly and listened to the oratory, Eleanor Roosevelt might have wondered whether the spirit of her husband was alive.

THE SPIRIT of F.D.R. was very much alive—it was just across town at a meeting in Madison Square Garden. There 20,000 persons had gathered with Henry Wallace and Paul Robeson and Vito Marcantonio for a real celebration of United Nations Day. Maybe they did call it a Make Marc Mayor Rally. It didn't matter; it was the same thing.

It was a grand meeting. The band played lively tunes and everybody sang, the way people with good conscience sing. But it wasn't all fun. There was a roar of determined approval when Paul Robeson said for his people:

"We want the right to vote all up and down this nation. We want Negro governors in Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi. We want a Negro on the Supreme Court, not a Tom Clark."

There was a grim silence when Henry Wallace said:

"Our ancient liberties so dear to Jefferson have been abridged. We have plunged down the road that ends in fascist hell. Jefferson would be impeached today."

MARCANTONIO spoke. He talked of the things he had been fighting for: decent housing, good schools, parks and playgrounds, an end to discrimination, ". . . the kind of a city of which I have been dreaming . . . the kind of a city I hope to make a reality—a fit home for the United Nations."

Then he got mad. He shouted: "To hell with Wall Street! To hell with the politicians!" And in Italian: "Viva il popolo della citta di New York!" ("Long live the people of the city of New York!")

A LOT of other people said it other ways. The GUARDIAN's appeal for funds for the Marcantonio campaign brought a flood of response. Not big money, but dollar bills, sometimes a five or ten. From Cleveland a rare $2 bill in a neat paper container with the inscription "Make Marc Mayor." From Omaha a note: "Please give this dollar to Marc. I'm a government employe and can't sign my name. But I want him to have it so that one day I will be able to sign my name." And lots more.

A couple of weeks ago we set out to tell our readers all over the nation what the New York campaign meant to the nation. We didn't have to tell them; they told us.

Nov. 8 is election day. If you vote in New York and you cherish your freedom there is one way you can demontsrate it best: Take yourself and everyone you know down to the polls, count one, two, three, and VOTE ROW C—ALL THE WAY ACROSS. If you live outside New York and have friends here, write and urge them to VOTE ROW C.

Because if Marcantonio becomes mayor it will be the simplest way of telling "the men who stand in the shadows of the buildings of peace" that they're out. The people are taking over.

The Trial

In response to numerous inquiries, George Marion's book **The Communist Trial** may be obtained by writing to Fairplay Publishers, 25 W. 44th St., Suite 414, New York 18, N.Y.

Henry A. Wallace on the tasks of the Progressive Party:

'... to work with all forces which believe in the brotherhood of man'

In an address before a dinner meeting of the Progressive Party of Philadelphia last Thursday night, Henry A. Wallace presented his philosophical ideas for a positive program for the Progressive Party. In essence the title of the speech might have been: In defense of idealism. The text of the address appears in full below:

By Henry A. Wallace

WHETHER I read the stories of Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson or the New Testament I am struck with the spiritual similarities of the early struggles for Christianity and American independence and the fight for peace and the common man which goes on today.

The men who wrote the Bible were men who fought for an unpopular doctrine against tremendous odds in a world where only force and exploitation were respected. How many times I have taken issue with our leftist friends because of their failure to see in the Bible a tremendous power for righteousness! Too easily and without a struggle they have turned this great power over to the reactionaries to be used by them for the purpose of keeping the people ignorant. How many times I have said that postwar America will be headed straight for World War III until such time as the Christian conscience of America is aroused.

With equal profit we who fight for the Progressive cause against such great odds may go back for our inspiration to the days when Tom Paine, Sam Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and Benjamin Franklin put loyalty to humanity above loyalty to the king. They were all subversives. They all violated the Smith acts of that day. A minority, a handful which glimpsed the possibilities of the future, took a chance because they felt the everlasting righteousness of their cause would release the creative energies of mankind. In the eyes of the British king they were traitors and common criminals. In the eyes of history they were the first in the entire world who had the courage and the wisdom to act effectively to establish a genuine political democracy. Today the very essence of both democracy and Judeo-Christianity is being threatened. It is the duty—the glorious opportunity—of the Progressive Party to work with all the forces which believe in the brotherhood of man and the ever-expanding productivity of man for the benefit of all.

I AM not Marxian and the Progressive Party is not Marxian. We do not and never have stood for the dictatorship of the proletariat. We know that America will not stand for a monolithic, one-party system whether that system comes from the right or left. Personally I am an idealist and yet in the main I would agree with Engels in his description of the materialist dialectic as follows:

"It reveals the transitory character of everything and in everything: nothing can endure before it except the uninterrupted process of becoming and of passing away, of endless ascending from the lower to the higher."

The difference between me and Engels is that he calls this process the materialistic dialectic and I call it God's method of creation. To me this is the continuous, idealistic process of creation whether it be in nature or in politics. The philosopher Heraclitus summed it all up by saying, "Everything is in flux. . . ." Engels merely added to Heraclitus the idea of purposeful change from the lower to the higher.

There are fundamentalists both in communism and in the churches who believe so utterly in the sacredness of the past that they bind themselves to it in a way which shuts out the possibilities of the future. No Progressive can be bound by the past. We can look to the Bible and the Founding Fathers for inspiration because we see that in past times other progressives lived and fought against reactionaries. To read about them gives us a sense of historical continuity. We don't feel so alone. It is as though the mighty ones of the past were all about us.

But when it comes to relying on authority out of the past that is another matter. A Progressive's final authority must be his sense of the unfolding future. That was the authority of Moses, of Jesus, of Benjamin Franklin and Abraham Lincoln. They would not want their sayings made into chains and read out of context to imprison the spirit of man. Nor, I am sure, would Engels or Lenin.

WE Progressives beware of orthodoxy whether it be science or in politics. Only men who question and feel the pulse of the future can move the world ahead. Frankly I question the judgment of those who continually rely on what Marx or Lenin said or who always look abroad for their inspiration. If we are going to look to the past, let us look to our own past.

This is not nationalistic chauvinism but belief in the practical politics of talking to people in terms of their own experience. We were taught in school about the American Revolution, not about the Russian Revolution. Our children know what Jefferson and Lincoln said. They don't know what Marx and Lenin said. We know about Burbank but we don't know about Michurin. We know what we have done in the country to increase agricultural output with hybrid corn but we don't know whether Lysenko's many branched wheat has increased agricultural output in Russia.

If humanity is to be served in the U.S. it must be served in American terms. But we must carry none of this to the extreme. All true Progressives, as do all genuine Christians, owe their supreme allegiance to the continuously expanding welfare of humanity as a whole. In the final analysis ours is no narrow faith but rather a belief in the endless potentialities of mankind enthusiastically working at peace for the service of all.

We certainly do not believe that either communists or capitalists have found any final answer. There never will be such an answer but we progressives believe that we can find a better answer for the U.S. than either communism or monopoly capitalism. Many of us believe that our answer must be the continuous unfolding fulfillment of the World Peace of Isaiah and the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth of Jesus.

We also believe most emphatically that we must do more than fulfill any ancient vision, however inspiring and world wide in its application. It is more than bringing past prophecies up-to-date. It

is up to us out of the very sharpness and bitterness of the current struggle to create something new to guide man so that both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. will be blessings not curses to humanity.

TO this end we must make it clear that the Progressive Party is not the Communist Party nor is it controlled by Communists. Communists will not serve the cause of peace which they so ardently desire if they try to dominate the Progressive Party. The great majority of the members of the Progressive Party are not Communists. They want peace and understanding with Russia, but their motives for so desiring are different from at least some of the Communists.

At any rate if there are any Communists who want peace and understanding with Russia so that communism may dominate the world, we of the Progressive Party want to make it clear to them that our motive for wanting peace and understanding with Russia is so that all nations may join together in developing a united United Nations within which communism and progressive capitalism may freely compete for the purpose of serving, not dominating, man.

We believe that world wide rules of the game can be set up which will prevent the absolutism of both communism and monopoly capitalism from coming into bloody conflict. We of the Progressive Party don't believe in Absolutes. We join with the American philosopher Josiah Royce in saying: "Damn the Absolute." Those who preach Absolute inevitably end up in totalitarianism of some kind which stifles the multiform creative energies of man.

We of the Progressive Party fight against the domination of the world by any one of the 4 C's. By the four C's I mean capitalism, colonialism, catholicism, and communism. Of the 4 C's, the only one which we are out to exterminate is colonialism. Concerning the other three we are tolerant as long as they are tolerant and do not engage in efforts at world wide domination.

When the other three preach world wide dominance of the mind and spirit of man we are against them. We don't want to see capitalism, communism or catholicism dominate the government of the U.S. because we know that such domination would threaten our traditional democratic liberties and the peace of the world. At the moment there is far more likelihood of capitalism dominating the government than either catholicism or communism.

RACISM is as great a peril in the U.S. as any one of the 4 C's. We should all be concerned when a school is given $50,000,000 to teach the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon and Latin American races and it is especially provided that nobody shall be employed by the school who is of African or Asiatic origin. Fifty million dollars under such provisos can project hatred a long distance into the future. Located in Mississippi, the home of Rankin and Eastland, a military school so endowed and so directed can breed southern Anglo-Saxon Hitlers of an especially vicious type.

The Progressive Party can never fulfill its destiny merely by being against something. It is not enough to protect violations of civil liberties. It is not enough to protest the Peekskill riots or the injustice done to the eleven Communists. If the Progressive Party is merely a protest party, it will do some good but will never become a power politically. Hitler could rise to power in Germany merely by preaching hatred of Jews and Communists. But the Progressive Party cannot be a "hate" Party.

It must be a positive party, standing for unleashing all the creative powers resident in man and nature for the benefit of all mankind no matter what the race, ideology or religion through the structure of a united United Nations. The Progressive Party believes the world is always changing and that man himself can mold these changes so that the world can be made progressively better. Most Progressives will call this process of endless becoming "idealism" not "materialism." Those of us who have religious background will call it "God's plan for man." Using this process man manifests God here on earth.

PROGRESSIVES believe that the triumph of communism in Russia after World War I and in China after World War II was a manifestation of this endless process of evolution from the lower to the higher. Outworn feudalisms were changed into something better. Downtrodden Russian muzhiks and Chinese peasants had everything to gain and nothing to lose by the change. Those in the U.S. who fight the Russian and Chinese Revolutions deceive themselves as to the forces of change which have suddenly matured over large areas of the world.

In reverse fashion many communists deceive themselves when they think the methods employed in Russia and China will also work in the U.S. Make no mistake about it! Monopoly capitalism is enormously strong and commands the affection of a large part of the population with its advertising, its controlled press, its controlled schools and its automobiles, radios, television sets, movies, washing machines and nylon stockings. It will take a long and deep depression to change that affection.

Personally I hope that the depression never comes but I know that it will come as certainly as both Democratic and Republican Parties are owned by monopoly capitalism and both back the same foreign policy. To prevent a terrible depression or to cure it if it comes the Progressive Party proposes a genuine welfare state, not a fake one such as that proposed by the Democrats. Systematic planning to advance the purchasing power of the workers in step with a continually increased productive power is essential.

Proud as we are of our refrigerators and automobiles we can, by planning, increase their number, improve their quality, and either reduce the cost or increase the wages. Monopoly capitalism by its very nature abhors the government planning necessary to prevent or cure depression. Progressive capitalism demands that there be such planning.

The Democrats who claim that they have already created a welfare state have fooled themselves. What they have done is to use their damnable foreign policy based on fear and hate to scare Congress into deficit financing of a huge arms and foreign aid program. Thus a fool's paradise of temporary business prosperity has been created. After the Democrats the Deluge, unless we have an end to the insane foreign policy and some systematic planning for waging peace even more enthusiastically than we are now waging the cold war.

I HOPE to see the day and soon when no Progressive will vote for anyone either locally or nationally who has failed to come out against the Truman Doctrine and the shipping of arms to Europe. Events will bring the Truman Doctrine chickens home to roost in the form of higher prices, higher taxes, depression or war. There is no escape now for the Democrats. The die is cast. The only question is when. When the Democratic policies are shown up for what they are the people will turn to the Progressive Party provided they are sure it is rooted firmly in the American tradition—the great tradition of Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt—and representing only the best in that tradition.

ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

THE NATION

How to be happy: see it from the Ritz

THE world, locked in the grip of the cold war, looked different depending on the window from which one viewed it.

Prof. Sumner H. Slichter of Harvard University leaned out of the tower of New York's Waldorf-Astoria and found this the best of all possible wars.

He told a convention of the Commercial Finance Industry that the "cold war with Russia" is "a good thing." He said: "It increases the demand for goods, helps sustain a high level of employment, accelerates technological progress and thus helps the country raise its standard of living. . . . In the absence of the cold war the demand for goods by the government would be many billions of dollars less than it is now, and the expenditures of both industry and government on technological research would be hundreds of millions less than they now are. So we may thank the Russians for helping make capitalism in the U.S. work better than ever."

VICTIMS DON'T GET IT: Gentlemen of the Commercial Finance Industry applauded. Victims all over the nation were less appreciative. Was it to "make capitalism work better than ever," wondered members of the Congress of American Women, that the House Committee on Un-American Activities last week called their efforts for peace "another communist hoax . . . to ensnare idealistically-minded but politically gullible women."

Dr. Gene Weltfish, honorary president, thought the Committee had "fantastic ideas." The cold war as seen from her window seemed less than a good thing.

SWISS VIEW: Walter Lippmann looked out of a hotel window in Basel, Switzerland. This is what he saw, as reported in the New York **Herald Tribune**:

"Europe is drifting. In the key countries, in Britain, France and in Germany, there are in fact no governments capable of making sustained and firm commitments at home or abroad. . . . Thus events are in the saddle. . . . Europe needs something more than the bombs, the dollars and the anti-Communist declarations which—at this distance—appear now to be our principal contribution to the comfort of the world's anxieties and the cure of its difficulties. Europe needs very much indeed to have restored to it the conviction that we are still searching for righteousness and are not merely reiterating how everlastingly right and righteous we have always been."

DR. GENE WELTFISH
The lady talked back

RITZ-EYE VIEW: The cold war clearly looked its best through elegant windows. At the Ritz-Carlton the view was as pleasant as at the Waldorf.

Typical was the day last week when, in aid of the Iron Curtain Refugee Campaign, luncheon was served to the cold war's heroes: Stanislaw Mikolajczyk once of Poland, Dr. Bela Fabian of Hungary, Karl Pusta of Estonia and others, each a well-paid fugitive from the wrath of his people.

In the evening through the Ritz Carlton's grand ball room paraded a string of cats and dogs, then a kangaroo, a skunk, a ram and a Long Island puddle duck. It was a popularity contest.

It must have been clear to every man, woman and child in the Ritz-Carlton that day—as it was clear to Professor Slichter at the Waldorf—that capitalism was working better than ever.

LABOR WEEK

CIO

Time of the toad?

DOPESTERS—newsmen who use guesswork when facts are lacking—were busy last week predicting what the CIO convention would do when it opens in Cleveland on Monday. Would Philip Murray and the majority right-wing leadership split the labor movement by expelling 11 left-wing unions?

Murray met with his vice-presidents and executive board, and hinted only that some changes in the CIO constitution might be made. With an expected right-wing edge of 7 to 1, he would have little difficulty mustering the two-thirds vote required for such changes.

SIX POINTS: A resolution from the United Electrical Workers Union, largest in the left-wing group, listing six points at issue and suggesting a pre-convention meeting with Murray, was referred with recommendation to the 32-man convention resolution committee, headed by Walter Reuther of the Auto Workers and Joseph Curran of the National Maritime Union. After days of silence the executive board agreed to meet with UE and westcoast longshore leaders over the week-end. Harry Bridges summed up for the embattled progressives bent on preserving as much unity as possible. He said: "If our union gets out of the CIO it will be because it is booted out."

A resolution adopted unanimously pledged CIO unions to "full moral, organizational and financial support" to steel strikers, but set no strike-fund goal and made contributions voluntary. The UAW voted a $100,000 contribution, the UE set its goal at $250,000. A proposal by Ben Gold of the Furriers for assessments to create a weekly strike fund of $2,500,000 was rejected.

In a non-controversial action, the board asked Pres. Truman to remove "reckless and vengeful" Robert N. Denham as general counsel of the National Labor Relations Board.

Marshall time

Featured speakers at the convention opening, it was announced, would be Cleveland's Archbishop Edward F. Hoban, and Secretary of State Dean Acheson. Once before a Secretary of

State had addressed a CIO convention: he was Gen. George Marshall, who tied the top leaders to the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan and the cold war.

A later speaker would be Gen. Omar Bradley, chief of the joint chiefs of staff.

In Philip Murray's position a flaw was seen by the ultra-conservative New York **Sun**. Quoting his assertion that it would be "unfair" for Pres. Truman to invoke the Taft-Hartley Law in the steel strike, it said: "It was a little odd that the assertion was made on the eve of the CIO convention, at which Murray and those who back him propose to use the means given to them by the Taft-Hartley Act to purge the organization. . . ."

The mess

On other CIO fronts:

- While Ford UAW members ratified 6 to 1 the new Ford Co. contract which grants monthly pensions of $100 (including social security benefits) to 65-year-old employes who have been 30 years with the company, General Motors locals in Flint and Detroit called meetings to go on record against the pension plan as totally inadequate.
- In Bay City, Mich. the UAW was trying to raid the CIO United Packinghouse Workers Union; in nearby Saginaw the UAW sponsored a dual union against the CIO United Public Workers.
- In Lynn, Mass., the largest local in the UE voted to expel UE's international president Albert J. Fitzgerald. The charge: he voted for himself against the local's instruction to vote for his right-wing rival. The expulsion

(Continued on following page)

Refugees in top hats

Government helps fascists muzzle U. S. language press

By Ed Falkowski

THE cold war has struck the back streets of America's foreign-language communities. Fascist emigres, masquerading under State Dept. auspices as cold-war democrats and potential liberators of their eastern European motherlands, view the foreign-language communities as a happy hunting ground.

Their efforts have encountered effective resistance from the small but influential foreign-language press. It was to be expected that the emigres would seek to silence it.

McCARRAN HELPS OUT: One day last summer Harry Fainaru, editor of the Detroit Rumanian-language weekly **Romanul American,** was summoned to Washington before Sen. Pat McCarran's Judiciary Committee. His paper had run a series of articles exposing activities of Rumanian fascist emigres in the U.S.

Fainaru found his accusers were some of the very people his paper had exposed: Pamfil Riponescu, Mircea Metes and Alfons Vogel. All were former attaches of the Rumanian Legation in Washington.

Riponescu denounced Fainaru for exposing his past as a black market speculator in Rumania. Metes accused the Detroit editor of publishing an article exposing the Nazi-collaborationist past of Grigone Niculescu-Buzesti, who died recently of natural causes after being taken to Washington's bosom as a future democratic liberator of Rumania.

THE OLD GOLD STORY: Vogel testified having seen Fainaru with a member of the present Rumanian Legation in a tavern. He claimed he

saw the latter with a roll of money which he hastily slipped into his pocket as Vogel approached. This, according to Vogel, was proof that the Detroit paper was being subsidized by the Rumanian government.

Fainaru cited his paper's 35-year existence as evidence of its readers' loyal support. The entire procedure, he said, was a violation of the freedom of the press.

CRACK-DOWN: The committee, however, paid him no heed. Fainaru was instructed to register his paper as a foreign government agency. Challenging the legality of the proceeding, he has refused to comply. (Registration would automatically cancel the paper's second-class mailing privileges and obligate it to publish English translations of all its foreign-language copy in adjoining columns. The result would frighten away readers and advertisers and cause the paper's death.)

That the Detroit case was no isolated incident was apparent when another publisher, Stanislaw A. Gutowski, managing editor of the Polish and English-language weekly **Nowa Epoka of New York,** was called to Washington to answer similar charges. The **Nowa Epoka** advocated resumption of Polish-American friendship and a halt to the U.S. embargo on export of industrial goods to Poland. This paper suspended publication a few weeks ago.

COURAGEOUS VOICES: Of the 952 foreign-language publications in the U.S., whose readers number from 9,000,000 to 10,000,000, the vast majority follow the editorial tone set by the American press. Yet a few papers have been surprisingly successful in checking the inroads of fascist ideas among their readers and exposing the pasts of the emigres appearing in the guise of anti-Soviet democrats.

In the obscure regions of these foreign-language communities a grim struggle for the future of a free press is in progress. Those who would crush this freedom seek to keep the struggle from the limelight.

(Continued from preceding page)

does not affect his position as president.

• In upstate New York, Auburn locals of the CIO Farm Equipment Union sought a court injunction against the merger of that union with the UE, a referendum on the question was in progress.

COAL-STEEL

Smoke in Harry's eyes

ALL week long calamity was predicted. U.S. business was said to be going to hell. The heat was on Harry Truman to get tough with steel and coal strikers.

At this point in U.S. politics Harry Truman could scarcely afford to use the Taft-Hartley law. He sat back and hoped something would happen without him.

Some tried to smoke him out. A friend quoted him as predicting the

strikes would end in 10 days. Later he had to retract. On Wednesday an unidentified cabinet member told reporters Truman had decided to intervene by the weekend. Next day presidential secretary Charles Ross said the report was "entirely without warrant." The President, he said, was "keeping hands off."

Both sides in both strikes were holding tight. Cyrus Ching, federal mediation director, was still meeting with U.S. Steel but reported "no progress."

MO-PACS ARE BACK: In all the noise over coal and steel, settlement of the Missouri Pacific railroad strike was almost overlooked. After 44 days, strikers had won settlement of most of 282 disputes over interpretation of work rules involving some $3,000,000 in pay. Back to work went 5,200 operating employes, 20,000 white collar and non-operating employes.

WOODWORKERS

Labor united behind Louisville serfs

THE brothers O.S. and Clarence Bond run a plant near Louisville, Ky., which treats railroad ties with creosote. The work is hard and hazardous. Most of the 150 employes are Negroes.

The Bond brothers are tough. For much of their working force they went to the La Grange Reformatory and obtained paroled convicts. To keep them on the job, the Bonds used the threat of returning them to the reformatory.

Most employes lived in company houses, all were paid in checks marked "not negotiable" and drawn on the Tie Plant Store, Inc. The store sometimes would advance a man $5 against his wages; for this he paid $1.25 a week interest.

NO NOTHING: A year ago Bond workers organized in the CIO International Woodworkers. Last May 2 they struck, demanding recognition of the union, increased wages, safety measures, installation of a time clock, payment in legal tender. The company refused to negotiate, would accept no arbitration, no mediation.

Instead it recruited a force of 70 scabs and housed them in the plant or in tents on company property, with private guards to protect them. Circuit Court Judge Lawrence Speckman obliged with an injunction limiting picketing to two men at each plant gate.

All Louisville labor—AFL, CIO and independent unions—came to the strikers' support with mass picketing. Scores have been convicted of contempt, jailed and fined. Strikers have been beaten and shot at by the company guards.

BLACKLIST: Some who sought jobs elsewhere found themselves blacklisted. Two who had obtained jobs with the Louisville Gas & Electric Co. were fired the same day. They quoted their foreman: "You worked at Bond Brothers this year, and it is an agreement that we don't hire any Bond Brothers people."

Last week new violence was feared. The company had moved to evict strikers still occupying company houses.

By then the strike was one of the oldest in the country, by all odds the meanest. No settlement was in sight.

A subcommittee of the House Labor Committee announced in Washington that the Bond Brothers strike was tentatively listed for an on-the-spot investigation.

POLITICS

NEW YORK

'Dear Bernie...'

GENESEO, N. Y., looked very much like Waterloo to dour John Foster Dulles. It was there early this month that the Republican contender for the Senate had told upstaters he wished they could see with their own eyes the "kind of people" down in the city making up the "bloc that is voting for my opponent.." Scarcely any of New York City's two million Jews, one million Italians, half million Negroes, one million others of foreign extraction and uncounted progressives missed the point.

"DEAR FOSTER . . .": Last week Dulles turned in desperation to the venerable Bernard Baruch, writing for all to see: "Dear Bernie . . ." Baruch replied: "Dear Foster. . . . No one who knows you as I have for over 30 years can believe you guilty of bigotry. . . ."

Later James A. Farley, Democratic wheelhorse until he turned on FDR, announced that while he would vote for Lehman he "had nothing against John Foster Dulles." Toward the weekend, there appeared a "Committee for the Election of O'Dwyer and Dulles," which nobody could account for, but nobody disclaimed, least of all O'Dwyer. To save Dulles' face, the point of the bipartisan knife seemed aimed at New Dealer Herbert Lehman's back.

Meanwhile Rep. Vito Marcantonio, American Labor Party mayoralty candidate, made Mayor O'Dwyer a sporting proposition.

If Mayor O'Dwyer would denounce anti-Negro discrimination in Metropolitan Life's Stuyvesant Town and cancel the project's tax exemption, Marc would withdraw from the campaign.

"Make this one decent gesture, Bill," Marc said over the radio, "and I will quit the race."

O'Dwyer refused the gambit.

Singing in the rain

NEW YORK CITY Councilman Ben Davis sat in jail last week with the other ten convicted Communist Party leaders. Outside thousands demonstrated in the rain for his reelection.

An election film, "What's Happening in Harlem," was being shown on street corners, drew crowds of from 300 to 5,000. Film crews were later served with summonses calling street movies illegal.

Five registered Democrats went to court with a "taxpapers'" suit to strike Davis' name from the ballot. They said his conviction had proved he "committed a fraud on the electorate." The court disagreed, threw out the suit, kept Davis on the ballot.

CONNECTICUT

PP vs Silent Jasper

WHEN the noon whistle blows at General Electric's Bridgeport plant, maintenance man Fred Blycher mounts a stand at the shop-gates and becomes People's Party candidate Fred Blycher running for mayor.

Bridgeport payrolls have dropped

FRED BLYCHER
Man with a plan

33%; weekly wages are $5 less than they were last year; like other New England towns Bridgeport has been among the first to feel the depression.

Sixteen years ago the town sent to City Hall Socialist Party candidate Jasper McLevy on a campaign slogan of public ownership. The public owns no more today than it did 16 years ago. McLevy's lackadaisical "socialism" has earned him the title of "Jasper the Silent, the banker-socialist." The Democrats and Republicans have put up their candidates with no real hope of beating the McLevy machine.

PP PROGRAM: Blycher is the only candidate in the field with a program: For the unemployed: $35 a week for 52 weeks plus $5 for each dependent; a $25,000,000 public works project. For the housing crisis: rent control, 10,000 new housing units, all unsegregated. Other platform planks are: local FEPC, lower bus fares and municipal ownership of utilities.

Jennings Perry

Pigs MIGHT fly

MR. CHURCHILL would not like it—but we **could** go ahead and beat Britain to nationalizing steel. Of course we should nationalize coal first.

We are going to have to take over coal sooner or later in any case. Mr. Lewis knows that. I think the operators foresee it. Maybe the reason why we haven't done it is that we have never been quite cold enough. One day when we shall have been very cold we shall act upon our aggravation, asserting the overriding public interest in being warm in winter.

This will be our act of passion, when we are fretted to it Mr. Lewis and the operators know, however, that nationalization of the coal industry will be a receivership in bankruptcy. Long the king of fuels, coal now is steadily hard-pressed by the availability of cleaner, handier, cheaper fuels—oil, gas, hydroelectricity. Eventually, atomic power will take over what remains of the kingdom.

We will continue to use some coal for dyes, textiles, medicine. The rest will simply revert to the public domain.

Daily Express, London

"Fage, just run along and find out whether that poor man has got a Ministry permit to gather winter fuel."

WITH steel it is different. The ore from which steel is processed comes out of the ground too. It is, like coal, a natural resource—"God-given." But steel will not become obsolete, no competitors crowd it.

On the contrary, its uses expand with every human venture. In the Age of Abundance to whose threshold we have been brought by the release of the energy of matter, the demand for steel will keep pace with the demand for tools, housing and transport.

The production of steel still will be the basic industry on which Industry itself depends, the key utility upon which the functioning of all utilities depends. It still will be vital to the economy—whatever economy, capitalist or socialist; which is why our society, if out of no more than its instinct of self-preservation, will have to take it over.

WE very well could go ahead now and beat Britain to it—not just to beat Britain to it, of course, but because the recent interruption of steel production has freshly demonstrated to us all how precariously our whole economic apparatus—indeed our position of "world leadership"—is balanced on this one factor. Short in steel, we are short in everything. All the markets tremble. Prosperity reels.

WHEN incredible mismanagement of labor relations in privately-owned steel results in production stoppage which could produce general depression, we should not hesitate to nationalize and repair. It is the patriotic thing

Big Steel's Mr. Olds ($161,300), Mr. Voorhees ($160,-700), and Mr. Fairless ($207,900), ought to be able to see this right off. The welfare of the nation is paramount. Pride of possession, or even managerial pride, must give way.

Steel must roll and be kept rolling: and if Mr. Truman ($100,000) doesn't step into the mills with a writ of replevin in the nation's name, it will be because he doesn't see that keeping up the market is far more important to the security of the American system than keeping up the cold war.

WASHINGTON

PENTAGON WAR

Looie gets ahead

THE crossfire of Washington politics caught Admiral Louis E. Denfeld, Chief of Naval Operations, last week. Commander-in-Chief Harry Truman fired him from his job.

This was the battleground in which the admiral fell. In the Pentagon was Secretary of Defense Louis E. Johnson,

LOUIS JOHNSON
What's an admiral or two?

an ambitious man in a cozy seat. He could make friends easily by setting up defense plants in one politician's area, lopping them off elsewhere. It was said that the Secretary was less careful about making economies than about making friends. By 1952 he might grow tall enough to be called Presidential timber.

FOREST AND TREES: In the White House was a President who, rumor said, fancied himself as the only tall tree in the Democratic forest.

In the office of Secretary of the Navy was Francis P. Matthews, handpicked by Johnson. The Rt. Rev. Maurice S. Sheehy, head of the Catholic University of America, last week said this of Matthews: "I deplore the fact that to further his political ambitions Secretary Johnson insisted that a Catholic be appointed as Secretary of the Navy. His new Secretary was a man of high integrity who knew nothing about the Navy."

To Johnson the tactical skirmish between the supercarrier and the B-36 was an irrelevant intrusion into major political warfare. As an obstreperous partisan in that secondary war, Denfeld was helping to cloud Johnson's record. The admiral was scuttled.

THE AMTORG AFFAIR

Russian roundup

DIPLOMATS and economists continued to prescribe east-west trade for what ails the world. But in New York agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation swooped down on the principal agency for U.S.-Russian trade, Amtorg Trading Corp. A Grand Jury had indicted six of its officers for failing to register as agents of a foreign power. One was in Russia. Five were in New York.

Most of Amtorg's officers hold diplomatic passports. The corporation is registered under the laws of New York State. Amtorg had delayed on U.S. demands that it register because it felt that registration was tantamount to an admission that it was engaged in spying.

TOO TOUGH FOR TEA: Ordinarily the affair would have been settled in Moscow over a cup of tea. In the cold war the incident became a commando raid. An American attorney, who happened to be at Amtorg on business, described the hostilities to GUARDIAN:

"An FBI agent came rushing into the office. 'Who are you?' he barked at me. 'Who the hell are you?' I answered. He showed me his badge; I gave him my visiting card. He looked at me suspiciously, but let me go. The Russians were all arrested. Newspapermen and photographers were on their way up. I was afraid they were going to take my picture, but fortunately they missed me."

At a hearing U.S. Commissioner Edward W. McDonald set bail at $75,000. The Russians could not raise it right away, and spent the weekend in jail. On Monday, Isidore G. Needleman, their attorney, came to court with a certified check for $75,000. Assistant U.S. Attorney Edward E. Rigney refused to accept the check, sent Needleman back for cash.

Last Wednesday Amtorg announced that it was willing to register but the government gave no indication that it would quash the indictment.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

THE FIGHT OF THE 11

Cruel and unusual

"Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted."
—U. S. Constitution, Eighth Amendment

REASONABLE bail has always been the rule in U.S. courts in political cases where constitutional issues were in doubt. Denial of it to the 11 Communist Party leaders, dubiously convicted of violating the dubious Smith Act, was a vindictive act bordering on the "cruel and unusual."

This in substance was the opinion not only of the Communist Party itself, but also of the anti-Communist Americans for Democratic Action and the middle-road Civil Liberties Union as Judge Medina's action came under sharp challenge last week.

IT'S IN BILL OF RIGHTS: Amid the rising protests, the Communists filed a formal appeal for bail in Circuit Court; arguments were scheduled for Nov. 1. On Thursday the wives of four defendants called on U.S. Attorney General J. Howard McGrath, demanded that the Justice Department recommend reasonable bail as part of its obligation to defend the Constitution. Hundreds of Bill of Rights defenders from 26 states backed them up at a Washington rally, sponsored by the Civil Rights Congress.

While lawyers worked on appeals, the defendants paced jail cells. One of them, Robert Thompson, had no kind words for Medina's "leniency" in his sentence.

"This Wall St. judicial flunkey," he

said, "has seen fit to equate my possession of the Distinguished Service Cross with two years in prison. . . [illegible] his cheap trick, Judge Medina seeks to blur and cast reflections on the patriotism and vital political role of our party. . . ."

PEEKSKILL

Victims investigated

AFTER the second skirmish of Peekskill, while many who came to hear Paul Robeson were still in the hospital, Gov. Dewey ordered a grand jury investigation.

Last week, following the Governor's directives, the jury was investigating the victims; prosecutors were grilling the wounded, tracking down those who put up any defense against the violence.

Witnesses were confronted with pictures of the orderly Robeson security guards, asked to identify them; pictures of rock-throwers and clubbers, whose faces are clearly indentifiable by residents in the area, were not placed in evidence.

MAKING A HOAX: One witness was shown a photograph of a line of Robeson guards facing a single hostile veteran. "Looks like you have him cornered, doesn't it?" said the questioner. The witness replied: "Why did you cut off the picture? There were 300 or 400 men standing behind that veteran!"

District Attorney George Fanelli tried to find a Negro who, he said, had stabbed one of the assaulting veterans. He worked hard to show the jurors that Robeson's audiences included members of the Progressive Party and Civil Rights Congress.

Cortlandt: quiet moment

Peekskill's neighbor, Cortlandt, had some residents who wanted "anti-disturbance" laws to restrict "communist" meetings. Louis Waldman, a labor lawyer who represents Joe (King) Ryan of the AFL longshoremen, helped write them.

The Town Board met warm opposi-

Chicago dateline

The whole town is plastered—that's why nobody builds

By Rod Holmgren
GUARDIAN Staff Correspondent
CHICAGO

CHICAGO has built less than one-fourth as many new homes as New York or Los Angeles since 1947, and about half as many as Detroit. An important reason came to light last week in details of a long fight over a new building code.

Villain in the piece is Byron W. Dalton, business agent for the Chicago Plasterers' Union, chairman of the AFL Chicago Building Trades Code Committee, and president of the Chicago Plastering Institute.

The institute levies a 6% tribute on the wages of every plastering job in the city. Its members are plastering contractors and the 2,000 union plasterers. The kickback is tacked on builders' bills for "benevolent and promotional" purposes.

NOTHING BUT PLASTER: The current building code, in force since 1939, contains a requirement for three coats of plaster on all interior walls. Substitute materials—plywood and wallboard—are ruled out. So is prefabrication. Average cost of a small one-family dwelling is $12,000. In the suburbs the same house—using plywood or wallboard—can be built for $8,000.

In 1946 the City Council set up a sub-committee to revise the 1939 code. It was touted as a long step toward overcoming Chicago's critical housing shortage.

When the new code came before the City Council last week, it contained 25 fresh amendments inserted at the last minute by Fire Prevention Bureau Chief John D. Fenn. The amendments put the mandatory plaster requirements back into the code.

It almost worked. But architect John O. Merrill objected. The Council gave him until early November to study the amendments.

Those who demand adoption of the new code without plastering amendments insist they are not fighting labor. They point to the Chicago CIO Industrial Union Council and the AFL Carpenters District Council among supporters of code revision.

Other supporters include the Metropolitan Housing and Planning Council; Independent Voters of Illinois; Church Federation of Greater Chicago; and Progressive Party of Illinois.

BLASTING AN ARGUMENT: Code revision backers scoff at the Plastering Institute argument that fire hazards would be increased by substitute materials. "Every wall material has resistance to fire, depending on its ignition point, flame spread, and other factors," says Merrill. "Construction (under the new code) must comply with all FHA standards."

Federal officials say Chicago will get no help in its land-clearance and low-cost housing program unless the new code is adopted.

The Progressive Party insists that approval of the new code, without amendments, is not enough. Legislative Director Sidney Ordower says enforcement of the health and safety features must be far tougher than it has been up to now.

Peekskill victims: a gr
After the Robeson concert a youthful victim
the pressures of anger and frustration. E

Eyewitness: Peekskill

A splendid pamphlet documenting the Peekskill story has just been published. Titled **Eyewitness: Peekskill, U. S. A.**, it is a swift-paced report of the events before the first concert, Aug. 27, through the second concert and incited riot, Sept. 4, and the whitewash investigation.

Copies are available at 25c each. Write Westchester Committee for a Fair Inquiry Into the Peekskill Violence, Box 431, White Plains, N. Y.

tion at the public hearing; it tabled the resolution and adopted the ordinance after the opposition had gone home.

Fellow travelers

Bankers, brokers and corporation executives travel together between Manhattan and suburban Westchester, which contains Scarsdale as well as Peekskill and Cortlandt. Recently a number of them became fellow travelers in a more ominous sense.

Eighty-one of them in Scarsdale, including the presidents of General Electric, U.S. Rubber and the N.Y. Federal Reserve Bank, got together to oppose a book-burning. A "Committee of Ten" (with nine members) wanted to purge school libraries of "communist" works. The 81 paid for an ad in the Scarsdale paper to say "no."

U. S. S. R.

Robeson on a peak

SOVIET mountain climbers last summer scaled a rugged 13,000-foot peak of the Ala-Tau Mountains in Kazakhstan. Custom bestows the right to name a mountain on those who first climb it. The Soviet climbers named it Mt. Robeson.

This month, a group of Kirghiz climbers did the trick again though the weather was below freezing. They carried with them a bust of Robeson which they placed on top of the mountain, then dedicated it in the name of "battling solidarity with those millions of ordinary people of America whom Paul Robeson represents."

MINNESOTA

The Caldwell case

WHEN Eunice Caldwell was 10 Arkansas cotton bosses dragged a boy playmate to her home one night. She had seen him muddy the dress of a white girl. The men insisted the boy

EUNICE CALDWELL
The frightened men

had attacked the girl. They wanted Eunice to confirm their charge. She refused. They beat her playmate to death before her eyes.

Eunice grew up chopping cotton, was married, had a child. She wanted something better than the place where they beat little boys to death. She and her young husband moved to Minnesota, looking for work. When the depression came, the unemployed flocked into the Workers Alliance and the Caldwells joined.

NEW RIDING BOSSES: Later, when things picked up, Eunice worked in an arms plant, finally got a U.S. Civil Service job as kitchen helper in the Minneapolis Veterans Hospital.

Recently she was called before a Loyalty Review Board. The FBI said she had belonged to the Workers Alliance and National Negro Congress, that she knew two people said to be Communists, that she had signed state nominating petitions to put Communists on the ballot. She admitted these things.

Eunice Caldwell was fired and blacklisted.

TEST CASE: The Minnesota Progressive Party, seeing in Eunice Caldwell all of the victims of the "loyalty" purge, rallied to her defense and prepared to press her case in federal courts. Elmer Benson, state PP chairman, heads a Caldwell Defense Committee. (Contributions may be sent to the committee, 1951 University Av., St. Paul 4, Minn.)

Eunice Caldwell comented: "They must be frightened, to dig down and try to root out the strength of one person."

GUARDIAN photo by Harold Bloom

s: a group portrait

al victim of the mob broke down under tration. His companions comfort him.

West Coast wire

Tom Paine in Pershing Square —the story of Irwin Edelman

By Gene Richards
GUARDIAN Staff Correspondent

LOS ANGELES

IRWIN EDELMAN, outdoor speaker in historic Pershing Square in Los Angeles, has been jailed 12 times in a year for speaking his mind about the cold war and the Bill of Rights.

Edelman is no orthodox radical. "My outlook doesn't fit any existing groove," he explains, "so I decided to freelance. Pershing Square seemed a logical place, with the growing unemployment and anxiety about war."

The former New York bookshop proprietor, a mild-looking little man of 50 who can maintain a dignified decorum with traffic whizzing by on four sides, started his park forums in 1947.

COLD WAR DOES IT: The police let him alone until he began distributing copies of his pamphlet, **The Myth of the Iron Curtain**, which documented the story of how Britain propagandized after the Revolutionary War to isolate the new American republic.

Then the gendarmes arrested Edelman on a charge of distributing literature without a license, ignoring other people who were giving out leaflets for Jehovah's Witnesses, the Catholic Church and the Bank of America.

That has been the pattern since, with the charges varied to include begging, disturbing the peace, vagrancy and, on one unimaginative evening, standing on a park bench.

THE FULL BRIEFCASE: Edelman won the first case himself, giving the jury a peep inside a briefcase packed with Voltaire, Tom Paine, Supreme Court decisions and his own pungent brochures on the rights of man. The jury was hung.

But Edelman was soon back in court, charged with begging because he accepted contributions for his pamphlets to defray costs of his first trial. He was convicted—$50 or five days in jail—and review was denied.

In the months that followed, the pamphleteer was arrested first under one section of the city code, then another. He appeared in court, wrote open letters to Police Chief William A. Worton, exposed inconsistencies in the code, mobilized courtroom demonstrations—but always he got pinched, and twice more he was convicted.

FIGHT HE CAN'T DUCK: The last couple of times Edelman was arrested in the park, he was distributing copies of NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

His persecution has become so pointed that last week he was considering seeking an injunction to prevent police interference with his constitutional rights.

"I am a soldier," Edelman declares, "in a battle that cannot be dodged. Dodging may mean worse than jail; it may mean concentration camps and crematoriums."

In virtually all of Edelman's court appearances, juries have been inflamed by prosecution inuendoes of the familiar "force and violence" brand. Not only have police in Pershing Square systematically halted Edelman's outdoor speaking—and only his—but organized hoodlums have heckled him and on two occasions cooperated with the police.

A LONG REACH: But the little bookseller is already reaching out from his mailing address (P.O. Box 2787, Los Angeles 53) with a plan to carry on his free-speech fight. With several associates, he is establishing a publication and organization, "The Guardian of the Bill of Rights," to win support for a program to keep the parks and sidewalks available for all pamphleteering.

"Across the nation," Edelman warns, "government officials are snooping into people's minds, tapping their phones, invading their homes and searching and arresting without a warrant. Lynchings, frame-ups, censorship, political witch-hunt trials and loyalty oaths and investigations—these fit into a pattern reflecting a movement to chain the minds of the people, to make them conform to the views of an officialdom in the service of corporate wealth. A fascist America! Can it happen here?"

EDUCATION

MISSISSIPPI

Subsidy for hatred

MONEY in large sums was poured into some schools last week, bringing new potted palms to many auditoriums and working even more drastic changes.

In Mississippi, Jefferson Military College, a prep school which until recently struggled along on a small enrollment and the tradition that Confederate President Jefferson Davis studied there, took in $50,000,000. Only six schools in the country are richer: Columbia, Harvard, Yale, Northwestern, Rochester and Chicago.

Success did not come easy. Oil-rich Judge George Armstrong, Dixiecrat politician, gave the money to the school with the proviso that it teach "the Constitution, Christianity and the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon and Latin-American races." Its faculty must bar "persons with communist connections" and "any person of African or Asiatic origin." Both faculty and student body must be "primarily constituted of persons of Anglo-Saxon or Latin-American origin and of the Christian faith."

"THE ONLY BAN": The school accepted the money and all the strings attached. Administering the bequest is Joseph Brown, U.S. attorney in Natchez. He insisted the school need not teach white supremacy. He said: "The only ban will be on Negroes and Japanese, Chinese or other Asiatics. If a Jew embraces the Christian faith he can attend just as well as any other Christian."

Armstrong had previously offered $5,000,000 to Southern Methodist University if it would exclude Jewish students. The school refused.

N. Carolina: lucky strike

TWENTY-FOUR years ago Trinity College in Durham, N.C., was obscure, too. It rose to prominence when James B. Duke of the American Tobacco Co. left it $40,000,000. The school switched its name from Trinity to Duke University.

Last week Doris Duke sat on the platform and watched the inauguration of the university's new president, Dr. Hollis Eden. Dr. Eden promised to keep communists out of Duke because they did not possess the "moral and spiritual values" to be teachers. He added: "Duke is irrevocably committed to the defense of the freedom of the mind." The heiress seemed satisfied that her father had invested well.

Czechoslovakia — behind the headlines

The big news is bumper crops — not the phony terror

By George Wheeler

PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA

THE big story in Czechoslovakia is the success of the economic plan, which is advancing steadily toward achievement of a higher standard of living for all the people.

The first harvest of the Five-Year Plan is in, with bumper crops and the end of bread, flour and potato rationing. Never before have the crops been gathered so quickly.

ONCE IT WAS QUAINT: In prewar days Czechoslovakian farming was a quaint and picturesque attraction for tourists, a hard and wasteful work for the farmers. Now, with mechanization and unified cooperatives, they can till their strips and plan the efficient use of community machinery far in advance.

Where neighbors merged their small fields, scheduling planting and reaping together, they saved as much as 60% on labor costs; they also saved precious harvesting days.

Perhaps best of all, the farmer's market is guaranteed at fixed prices by a government contract. Above this, he can sell in any market. For his money he can buy increasingly of consumer goods, now being turned out at 112% of prewar levels.

DIVERSION ABROAD: One must perforce take his eyes off these important developments long enough to note the reports of "police terror" that blanket them (perhaps deliberately) in the press of the U.S., Britain and other western countries.

If "thousands" of Czechoslovaks have been arrested in recent weeks, why do correspondents here know definitely of only two officials who have been detained (Dr. Klinger and Dr. Kosta, both press officers)? There is no hysterical and brutal roundup. The government probably has enough sense to pick up and hold, at least for questioning, people named as being involved in espionage, since this republic is in rather an exposed position.

Czechoslovak women binding grain by hand are still a common sight. But such age-old methods are rapidly disappearing under the government's program of mechanization.

But at the same time, the government is advising the people that non-Communists are valuable citizens too. A radio commentary on Oct. 13 said: "We must never forget that every honest citizen has the right to criticize and to control even the work of Communists."

SEDITIOUS PRIEST: As for the priests, we have personally heard within the past week an unpunished, seditious statement from a public pulpit. The priest, in Trencin, Slovakia, asked for divine intervention to help the people endure the terrible times and horrible things being visited on them. No disturbance, no notice paid him, nothing.

(This, incidentally, was witnessed as we made a complete circuit, in an American car, of all Slovakia, part of Moravia and a section of Bohemia; not once did the police stop us or ask what we were doing.)

The government clearly does not expect all priests to support the new state; it does insist that priests refrain from active sabotage.

SOMETHING TO GUARD: What the Czechs are protecting by their vigilance is a state which is phenomenally successful in the tasks of economic recovery and improvement. For example, all clothing ration points have just been validated, so that a year's supply can now be purchased. Shoe points have been lowered. Free market prices of butter and coffee are down as much as 50%.

At the same time, industry generally is producing and developing even faster than the stiff schedule set in the Five-Year Plan. The growth of foreign trade reflects this; it is now in balance for practical purposes, with a healthy shift in imports from foodstuffs to raw materials and export of finished products.

PITY THE BRITISH: The whole scale of improvement has made Czechoslovakia sharply aware of the benefits to be gained from greater east-west trade. In connection with the new trade agreement with Britain, Pavil Eisler, radio commentator, said:

"There can be no doubt that the agreement constitutes at least one step in the direction of increasing east-west trade; and that—as has been pointed out so consistently by the United Nations—remains one of the most important instruments in reducing Great Britain's and western Europe's lamentable dependence on the United States."

The Czechs are not a gloating people, but neither are they blind. Britain's contracting economy, geared to cold war policies, is really an object of pity here.

THE WORLD

TEXAS

Post office horrors

"THE United States is called a capitalistic country, but it does not have pure capitalism. It has capitalism subject to increasing governmental control as our manner of living becomes more complex. The country is capitalistic with strong socialistic and even communistic trends. The postal system, power projects, and progressive taxes are bits of socialism; and public free education and old age assistance are examples of communism . . . to each according to his need."

That paragraph, out of an "American Government" civics textbook by Dr Frank Magruder, was too much for the Houston, Tex., school board. One board member said: "When he (the child) reads about the Post Office, free education and such things, he'll think they're good and he might think socialism and communism are good." The book was banned.

Only board member Mrs. Olon Rogers dissented. She said she did not necessarily approve of the paragraph, but thought the board should at least have read the remainder of the chapter before taking action.

SUBVERSIVE FOOD: The Houston board had previously rejected federal school lunch aid because it would undermine the children's character.

In San Antonio, Tex., schools will continue to use "American Government." "I am not inclined," said the superintendent of schools, "to jump to hasty conclusions."

BRITAIN

Bitter pattern

THE pattern of crisis has become bitterly familiar to British wage-earners and housewives: the hurried conferences at 10 Downing St.; announcement of the new policy; talk of opposition in the Commons; lame endorsement; more and more austerity.

Last week was no different. Prime Minister Attlee announced economies of $784,000,000 to combat the effects of devaluation. Housing, health, education and farming got the ax; food prices were boosted; Health Service prescriptions went from nothing to 14 cents.

NO COLD WAR CUTS: Little came off the inflated military budget. Attlee promised "further study consistent with our obligations under the Western European Union and Atlantic Pact."

In the final confidence vote, 233 MP's—an unusually large number—demonstrated opposition by abstaining. Left-wing Laborites fought vainly to shift the cuts to cold war spending, with higher profits taxes.

GALLANT NUDE: Taxes recalled Lady Godiva who, 900 years ago, rode down the streets of Coventry clad only in her conveniently long tresses. Like a gallant lady picket she hoped by this demonstration to force her noble husband to relieve the tax burden. In deference no one peeked save one who lives in infamy as Peeping Tom.

The town set up a brand new statue of her last week in front of the Cathedral. Townsfolk gathered in the square for the undraping of their nude heroine. The ceremony was marred when British and U.S. flags stuck fast to Godiva's torso.

News Chronicle, London

The sleepless beauty

After the phenomenal dollar-earning success of the Sadler's Wells ballet in New York, the cabinet is contemplating another mission to U. S.

FRANCE

Today's Premier

"The savage Timmes of Sierra Leone, who elect their king, reserve to themselves the right of beating him on the eve of his coronation; and they avail themselves of this constitutional privilege with such hearty goodwill that sometime the unhappy monarch does not long survive his elevation to the throne."

The Golden Bough,
by Sir James G. Frazer

PARISIAN politicians, no less savage than the Timmes, put Georges Bidault through the mill last week. The one-time foreign minister and head of the Catholic Popular Republican Movement was the latest chosen to try for the premiership. Before him in recent weeks had gone Jules Moch, Socialist, and Rene Mayer, Radical Socialist (Conservative). They had not survived the ordeal.

Bidault expertly mended fences on all sides but that of the Communists. On Thursday he had a cabinet that won parliament's approval 367 to 183. Included were Bidault's predecessors, Henri Queuille, Moch and Mayer. But it was unlikely that Bidault would long survive his "elevation." The best he could hope to do was keep the office from looking empty. Chaotic French politics would drift irrespective of premiers.

Like this issue? Pass it on a friend. He'll like it too.

GREECE

Royalist land-grab try stalls settlement

A FRAIL, 25-year-old Brooklyn woman darted through police lines in an effort to reach President Truman's open limousine. She clutched a note to the President begging his intercession to prevent the deportation of her husband, Vasilis Nicholas Pettas, to Greece.

Mrs. Pettas was quickly intercepted. The President drove on to dedicate the cornerstone of the new UN headquarters on New York's East Side, where he extolled "respect for human rights." Mrs. Pettas landed in the psychiatric ward of Bellevue Hospital for 24 hours.

"ORGY OF CRUELTIES": In the United Nations, Soviet Foreign Minister Vishinsky launched an all-out fight to halt the execution of Greek patriots by the U.S.-sponsored royalist government in Athens. He demanded that the UN intervene to force suspension and repeal of the death sentences of eight prominent members of the Greek liberation movement, and accused Athens of an "orgy of cruelties" against antifascist prisoners.

In the bitter three-day debate, the U.S. maneuvered to block even the mildest resolution asking the Athens government to suspend death sentences for political reasons while the UN Conciliation Commission exists. A resolution was adopted requesting the president of the Assembly to "ascertain the views of the government of Greece" on the suspension of death sentences.

BRIDGEHEAD BATTLE: The Commission had reported failure of its efforts to achieve a Greek settlement. Its report said Soviet insistence on recognition of Albania's frontier was a major factor in the breakdown, since Athens refused to renounce claims to southern Albania. Athens has repeatedly threatened to attack Albania, which would effectively extend the U.S. bridgehead in the Balkans.

Other Soviet demands were for a general amnesty and UN-sponsored free elections. The Athens radio denounced these as an effort "to win by diplomatic methods the same goals sought by the guerrillas."

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Bishops climb down

THE Catholic Church had cried "murder" and sworn never to cooperate with the government at Prague. Last week they capitulated and agreed to allow priests to accept pay from the government they called godless. As they had done for ages, priests would again be allowed to swear loyalty to the state.

But churchmen would add to any loyalty oath a refusal to undertake "any obligation which would be in conflict with my priestly conscience and with the church."

By its action, the Council of Bishops accepted the new law which places church affairs under control of a government minister, gives civil service status to priests, and puts religious seminaries and church properties under the same control as other institutions.

YUGOSLAVIA

Envoys new and ex

FROM 1946 to 1948, George V. Allen's job was to keep the cold war going in Iran. As U.S. Ambassador, he played tennis with the Shah; made militantly anti-Soviet speeches when the Iranians seemed to relax; manipulated parliamentary votes for U.S. oil diplomacy.

Last week the State Dept. hauled Allen out of his office as Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs (in charge of the Voice of America) and made him Ambassador to Yugoslavia. His Iranian experience seemed to qualify him for the strategic cold-war post. The news reached him in London as he met with key U.S. diplomats from eastern Europe to plan new anti-Soviet strategies. Yugoslavia was high on the agenda.

Not wanted in Moscow

Karl Mrazovic was in Belgrade last week when he got the news that the Soviet Union no longer wanted him to be Yugoslavia's ambassador. He hadn't actually been in Moscow since last May; in the meantime witnesses at the treason trial of Laszlo Rajk in

Hungary had said Mrazovic was an anti-Cominform spy when he headed the Yugoslav diplomatic mission in Budapest.

Kind words for trustees

At Lake Success Salko Feyitch, UN Trusteeship Committee delegate for Yugoslavia, spoke in praise of Britain's and France's educational efforts in their "trust area" African colonies. Echoing Brazilian congratulations on progress achieved by the colonial powers, Feyitch urged them to intensify their efforts.

Soviet delegate A. A. Soldatov moved for the work of the colonial "caretakers" to be completely repudiated. With its bouquet for Western colonial rule, Yugoslavia seemed to have reached a decisive split with the socialist countries on the basic Marxist theory of imperialism.

U.S.S.R.

Okie insurance

BETWEEN Russia's Ural Mountains and the Caspian Sea, there is a desert which stretches a thousand miles from east to west and hundreds of miles from north to south. Scorching winds blow millions of tons of sand to the fertile fields of the Volga and the Ukraine. The sands dry out the soil and burn up the crops.

Last week, the Soviet government announced progress on its 15-year project to protect the soil and its crops. A protective belt of trees is being planted between the desert and the farmlands. Four dams of trees, each 600 miles long and a quarter of a mile thick, have been started. Smaller windbreaks will soon shelter almost every field in an area half the size of the U.S. The trees are spaced far enough apart to permit farmers to continue harvesting their crops while the trees are growing. At the same time, a system of crop rotation is being introduced and water reservoirs built.

John Steinbeck's **Grapes of Wrath** sold well in Russia. The Russians want no Okies.

CHINA

The machines come—but we have a Lama

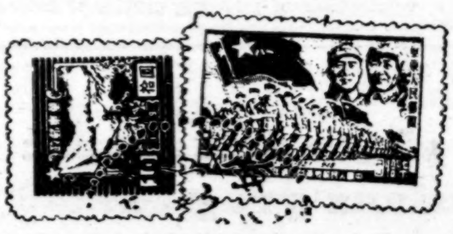
DAIREN, port city of southern Manchuria, had a fair. Visitors from all parts of north China flocked to see new locomotives, power shovels, marine engines, drill presses, milling machines, ore crushers, carbon, chromium and high-speed steels.

These were tools that could change "old China . . . timeless China . . . ageless China . . . quaint China."

New China was molding **men** to handle the tools, too.

MANPOWER: Since 1945, by treaty agreement with China, Russia has enjoyed special privileges in Dairen and occupied the naval base at Port Arthur. Soviet engineers have during this time quietly helped organize technical schools which have graduated 14,000 skilled Chinese technicians in the last three years.

The Dairen schools are only a part of the huge technical training program carried out in Manchuria since its liberation. Results are already apparent in the doubling of output in shipyards and railroad workshops, in a 64% increase in steel production in the Dairen area, and in the swift repair of Manchurian rail lines, based on Soviet techniques developed during the war.



NEW CHINA
The stamps tell the story

A visitor in Italy
Clare Boothe Luce, wife of the Time-Life-Fortune publisher, in the throne room at Castel Gandolfo after her audience with the Pope. It was her third visit, the first since her conversion to catholicism.

No story

In London, GUARDIAN's Gordon Schaffer attended a press conference to get first-hand reports of red rule in China by two staff members of the British Council, agency for British cultural exchange overseas.

Eager reporters, trained in the cold war tradition, crowded around the quiet-spoken witnesses, Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Scott. They grew less eager as the couple told their story: "There is electric light and water all the time now. The police are disciplined and

(Continued on following page)

Max Werner

Bomb-happy U.S. strategists sired Soviet A-bomb

PUBLIC opinion is beginning to grasp the startling fact that atomic strategy is a two-way proposition, and not a U.S. preserve.

We hatched a Frankenstein monster that is turning against its inventor. U.S. atomic strategists have literally bludgeoned the Soviet Union into its new tremendous strength. The real godfathers of the Soviet atomic bomb are our air strategists and politicians who have overpraised the bomb and boasted of selecting 71 Soviet targets for atomic attack.

Our military crisis is caused by the new revolutionary military facts, and **not** by the Navy's reluctance to accept the B-36 bomber and strategic area bombing. A purge among the admirals therefore solves nothing; it will not set off the vulnerability of the B-36, and will not make the atomic bomb strategically decisive. The Soviet Union possesses now the atomic bomb **and** guided missiles, land power **and** modern super-weapons. Since no U.S. replica against this new structure of Soviet military power has yet been found, the Atlantic Pact is wiped out.

ROOF WITHOUT WALLS: The decisive blow to the Pact was administered by our own strategists continuing to cling to the atomic bomb. This column has pointed out many times that a consistent U.S. atomic strategy must deny any massive military aid to Western Europe. On Oct. 20, Gen. Hoyt Vandenberg, the Air Force Chief of Staff, stated before the House Armed Services Committee:

"A prime objective of this country must be to find a counterbalance to the potential enemy's masses of ground troops other than equal masses of American and Allied ground troops. No such balancing factors exist other than strategic bombing, including the atomic bomb."

Thus Gen. Vandenberg spoke against a strong U.S. tactical aviation and strong U.S. land forces in Europe. But these are just the pillars of the Atlantic Pact without which the Pact has the solidity of a Quonset hut. Without strong U.S. tactical aviation and land power, the western European countries, and especially France, are not merely weak, but defenseless.

3-WAY FIGHT: Here the situation becomes inextricably confused. Not the Navy, but the Air Force concept has torpedoed the Atlantic Pact. On Oct. 20, Gen. Omar N. Bradley assailed the Navy's opposition to the A-bomb strategy, thus supporting the Air Force view. Yet on Oct. 15, only a few days before, an earnest and important article by the same Gen. Bradley was published in the **Saturday Evening Post**, which unfortunately was not presented as testimony to the House Committee.

In that article the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff said: "The atom bomb cannot give Europe the close and firm support which is necessary." And about U.S. obligations to western Europe he was adamant. "This would mean . . . American troops on the ground. It would mean American tactical planes over the fighting lines."

This was a broadside against the strategy of the Air Force, which fights not merely for a strong bomber force and offensive atomic strategy, but **against** a strong tactical aviation and a strong land army.

The split goes deeper and deeper; it is a three-cornered fight. The next round will be fought between the Air Force and Army, and this promises to be the main and hottest dispute about U.S. strategy. This time the Navy will join the Army against the Air Force.

(Continued from preceding page)

efficient. Currency has become more stable and food plentiful. The Communists have even introduced laws to prevent horses in the street from being overloaded."

Describing the dread Red Army, the Scotts told how they came in great numbers to the British Center library. They clamored for: Churchill's War Memoirs, Jane Austen, Shakespeare, Shaw and Harold Laski. Reporters drifted out. Only the **Daily Worker** carried the story.

Lama sees the light

Newsmen found hope elsewhere: in the mountain fastness of Tibet. Commentator Lowell Thomas, who fell from his horse on a mountain pass, reached home with word that the 15-year-old Dalai Lama of Tibet was on our side. He told a grim story of his privations: how bearers carried his litter chanting: "Oh Lord Buddha, lighten our load." He lost 15 pounds on the trip, he said, which helped.

Then he turned grave and urged aid in arms and guns to the Dalai Lama. In Tibet subsidiary lamas would greet each dawn with six-foot trumpets; monks would regularly spin their prayer wheels. How else the Dalai Lama might help the cause of western democracy was not certain.

DALAI LAMA
A western bulwark

But allies of any sort were hard to find on the borders of China. The West wanted to be helpful. In London it was reported that an Anglo-U.S. expedition was bringing electric power to Lhasa.

On to Formosa

Heedless of monks or newsmen, the Chinese Liberation armies approached Kweilin, capital of Kwangsi province and once known as the "Paris of the Orient." Red amphibious forces were attacking Chinmen Island, 140 miles west of Formosa, and the last nationalist toehold on the coast from which any attack on the island of Formosa would have to be launched.

PEACE

Persecution

FROM Brazil, Argentina, Tripoli, Lebanon, Morocco and Syria came reports of arrests, persecution and in some cases torture of people seeking peace. Most of them were members of the Partisans for Peace, an outgrowth of the Paris Peace Conference early this year.

The International Committee of the Partisans was scheduled to meet in Rome on Friday. Delegations from 70 countries were expected. A Yugoslav delegation had been invited but would not be admitted, officials said, unless it proved its "complete independence" by subscribing to charges leveled at the Tito regime by the executive bureau of the committee. The bureau had charged that Yugoslavia had joined the war camp. Yugoslavia maintained its right to a seat in the peace camp.

The connoisseur

A young visitor to the fall flower show in Paris gets in about as far as you can get to find out how a chrysanthemum smells.

THE ATOM

Hot potato recipes

HOW to live with the atom bomb was a problem that troubled many minds last week. Some looked for whipping boys. Western and Eastern diplomats at Lake Success accused each other of putting national interest ahead of the need for a world solution. (See UN story, p. 10.)

Dr. Leo Szilard, U.S. atomic physicist, recommended major changes in Washington's cold-war policy to satisfy Soviet interests. Pointing to "new realities" implicit in the Russian bomb, Szilard wrote in the **New Republic**:

"There is only one avenue of escape. We ought to release those countries which want to be released from the obligation imposed upon them by the Atlantic Pact." His object was to "neutralize those nations which are caught between the strategic aspirations of America and Russia" and "remove the chief area of conflict in Russian-American relations."

Szilard called further U.S. efforts to create a western European military bastion completely futile. His answer: "Enter into an agreement with Russia that will stop the arms race by eliminating atomic bombs from national armaments, put limitations on the conventional types of arms, and provide for a substantial reduction of armaments in general."

FRUSTRATION AT HOME: Another physicist, Dr. Harold C. Urey, was also worried—about witch-hunters and congressional alarmists who drive capable scientists out of government work. He prescribed: "Fire every security officer in every laboratory, except at Los Alamos."

WAR GAMES

WE won!

ONE week bombers attacked New York City in force and Canadian airmen had to rush down to protect the city. The following week an invasion force of 50,000 men beat off attacking submarines and descended on Hawaii. The war was not real, only a rehearsal. But to businessmen in Hawaii, welcoming the business the boys might bring on leave in the islands, it was almost as profitable as the real thing.

Daily Worker, London

"And in the future put the news from China under 'Lost Property' . . ."

United Nations Special

Atom control plans dissected: What the Russians propose

GUARDIAN UN Correspondence
LAKE SUCCESS

THE six permanent members of the Atomic Energy Commission issued last week a report of the ten secret meetings held between Aug. 9 and Oct. 13.

The report showed that no agreement had been reached between the Soviet Union and the five other powers (Canada, Britain, U.S., France and the ghost of Chiang's China.) But while discussions were going on without progress, the disclosure that the U.S. had lost her atomic monopoly threw a different light on the question.

Logically the U.S. might have been expected to modify her stand and introduce more conciliatory proposals. But such is the spell of wishful thinking that, after the news of the Soviet atom blast, the majority expected the Soviets to bring in new conciliatory proposals.

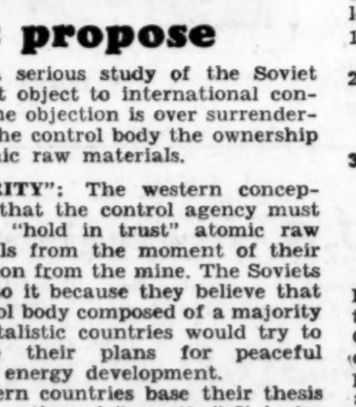
IMAGINARY CURTAINS: Simultaneously with the six-power report, the five members of the majority issued a separate statement blaming the Soviets for taking a "nationalistic" view of the problem. "The government of the U.S.S.R. puts its sovereignty first and is unwilling to accept measures which may impinge upon . . . its rigid exercise of unimpeded state sovereignty," the statement said.

Until very recently press reports on the atomic deadlock emphasized that the Soviets objected to the Western plan because it requires strict international control of atomic production. The Soviets "didn't want to lift their Iron Curtain."

But a serious study of the Soviet does not object to international controls. The objection is over surrendering to the control body the ownership of atomic raw materials.

"SECURITY": The western conception is that the control agency must own or "hold in trust" atomic raw materials from the moment of their extraction from the mine. The Soviets object to it because they believe that a control body composed of a majority of capitalistic countries would try to throttle their plans for peaceful atomic energy development.

Western countries base their thesis on the notion of "security." It is for security reasons—that is, to prevent any country from manufacturing bomt in secret—that the control



body should own raw materials and distribute them by quotas. But the Soviets believe a real preoccupation with "security" could be manifested by immediate outlawing of atomic weapons and destruction of all stockpiles.

As for measures of control, the Soviets have a plan which has been called a "fraud" by its opponents. It does not envisage **ownership** of raw viewpoint indicates that the U.S.S.R. material and nuclear fuel plants by the control body, as the Western plan does. But it clearly defines the following measures:

1) Simultaneous control over mining and production;
2) Creation of an International Control Commission within the framework of the Security Council, with its own machinery for inspection;
3) Its terms to be defined by an international atomic energy convention, which will investigate mining and production activities and check their accounts, check all stocks, analyze all data.

INSPECTION, YES: To fulfil its tasks of control and inspection, the Commission shall have right of access to all facilities of mining and production, and of exploitation of atomic energy. This means not only that the Commission shall request all nations to supply full data on atomic activities, but that it is entitled to inspect activities **in all countries**—periodically and whenever suspicion arises that a nation engages in clandestine bomb-production. It means, in practice, that neither in the U.S.S.R. nor in any other land an "Iron Curtain" on atomic production shall be allowed to exist.

The Soviet plan also underlines that the Commission must be enabled to carry out research, to enable the world to benefit from any discovery in the atomic field, and to promote a wide exchange of information among nations.

So far, the U.S. attitude of withholding information even from allies such as Canada and Britain has been criticized in these countries. The Soviet atomic plan does away with secrecy of research.

The Soviet plan is neither a fraud nor excessively nationalistic. It deserves serious consideration.

Outside those prison gates.... by Bill Cahn

"The eleven convicted Communist
leaders entered prison today. . . ."

The prison guards did not see them
but there they stood
gathered at the prison gate
hands extended in welcome.

Out front with twinkling eye
despite twenty-two years locked away
for a crime he did not commit
stood a chunky man, square rigged:
"My name's Mooney, call me Tom."
His laugh defied the bars.
"The enemy selected me as the symbol
of labor and the militant working class," he said.
"I hope I have been at least
a worthy symbol."

Said D. A. Fickert
"And I want you to consider, gentlemen,
consider it well, and place this fiend
where never again he can repeat this act . . ."

Next to him, two men, caps in hand,
a good shoemaker and a poor fish-peddler.
"I never, never heard, even read in history
anything so cruel as this court," one said.
"After seven years prosecuting,
they still consider us guilty. . . .
I know the sentence will be
between two classes:
the oppressed class
and the rich class,
and there will always be collision
between one and the other . . .
That's why I am here today
for having been of the oppressed class."

On August 22, 1927,
Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti
were murdered in an electric chair.
"Did you see what I did to those
anarchist bastards?"
said Judge Thayer.

Then came the tallest of them all,
bony hand outstretched, face aglow.
"I'm Debs, Gene Debs," he said.
"Years ago I recognized
my kinship with all living beings,
and I made up my mind
that I was not one bit better
than the meanest on earth.
I said then, I say now,
that while there is a lower class
I am in it;
while there is a criminal element,
I am of it;
while there is a soul in prison,
I am not free . . .
Great issues are not decided by the courts,
but by the people . . ."

Declaring himself
"conserver of peace and
a defender of the Constitution,"
Judge Westenhaver sentenced Debs
to ten years in prison. . . .

Up stepped a young man, handsome,
a song on his lips and
warmth in his hand-clasp.
Arrested on a framed-up murder charge,
Joe Hill faced the firing squad:
"I will die like a true-blue rebel.
Don't waste any time in mourning.
Organize! . . .
I die fighting—not like a coward.
Goodbye. Fire!
Let 'er go!"

On November 15, 1915
Joe Hill was executed
by the State of Utah.

As if one, out stepped eight men.
"Let August Spies speak for us
who died at Haymarket," they said.
"Now these are my ideas," said Spies.
"I cannot divest myself of them,
nor would I, if I could.
And if you think
you can crush out these ideas
that are gaining ground
more and more every day. . . .
by sending us to the gallows . . .
I say if death is the penalty
for proclaiming the truth,
then I will proudly and defiantly
pay the costly price!
Call your hangman!"

Said Judge Gary:
"Hang them first and try them afterwards."

Like the wrath of the people's anger,
stepped up a huge bearded old man,
eyes burning, voice like thunder.
His name: John Brown.
"I wish to say that you had better
—all you people of the south—
prepare yourselves
for a settlement of this question
that must come up for settlement
sooner than you are prepared for it . . ."

The trap crashed, the rope spun through . . .
Said Colonel Preston:
"So perish all such enemies of Virginia,
all such enemies of the Union,
all such foes of the human race!"

Then spoke up a printer by trade,
one John Peter Zenger,
imprisoned for fighting tories
two hundred years ago.
And after him Roger Williams,
exiled for his beliefs and
Ann Hutchinson, Matthew Lyon,
Elijah Lovejoy, the Mollie Maguires,
Ettor and Giovenetti, Frank Little
and the McNamara brothers,
all surged forward to clasp a hand
outside those prison gates.

NO BAIL, MEDINA SAID

Benjamin Davis, Eugene Dennis, Gilbert Green, John Williamson, Gus Hall.

Calendar for progressives

NEW YORK

Professional & scientific conference to discuss national health and socialized medicine sponsored by Physicians Forum Sun., Nov. 6, 10 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. (including luncheon) at Hotel Astor. Dr. Michael Shadid, Albert Deutsch, and Dr. Joseph Collings among speakers. Contact Physicians Forum, 510 Madison Av., MU 8-3290, for reservations.

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Teachers and school employees called to City Hall rally Wed., Nov. 2, 4 p.m., to ask for salary increases. Teachers Union Local 555, has the facts. Contact at 206 W. 15th St., WA 4-5524.

CHICAGO

Hard Time Party given by 23d Ward Progressive Club Sat., Nov. 5, 8 p.m. Square dancing, free beer and entertainment all for $1. Benefit of Illinois State PP. At Odd Fellow Hall, S. Karlov Av. and 26th St.

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MICHIGAN

Conference on job crisis in Upper Peninsula area Sun., Nov. 6, 10 a.m., at City Hall, Kingsford. Plan for rehabilitation and conservation to be adopted. Registration fee 50c. Contact Elmer Groleau, secy, Upper Peninsula Rehabilitation Council, Iron Mountain, Mich., for credentials.

Answer to question by Jerome Davis

It took place on a train just outside Washington, D. C., on Oct. 18, 1949. The man who made the critical replies was employed by the U.S. War Department and was a "morale booster for the U.S. Army."

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American Freedom and Catholic Power

St. Peter vs. the Emperor Constantine

By Clarence Duffy

IN the year 313 A.D. the Emperor Constantine in his famous Edict of Milan made Christianity the official religion of the then disintegrating Roman Empire. He placed Roman wealth and power at the service of churchmen, who were too weak to resist the poisonous bait.

During the more than 1,600 intervening years many men and women in the Church have protested against the compromising form of Christianity which resulted from that unfortunate Edict; against the worldliness, pomp, panoply and pride associated with Church dignitaries and especially with Popes.

In the 12th century St. Bernard wrote to Pope Eugenius: "I do not find that St. Peter ever appeared in public loaded with gold and jewels, clad in silk, mounted on a white mule, surrounded by soldiers and followed by a brilliant retinue. In the glitter that environs thee, rather wouldst thou be taken for the successor of Constantine than for the successor of St. Peter."

"MEA CULPA": The quotation is taken from Paul Blanshard's book, **American Freedom and Catholic Power,** which is bitter reading for Catholics. It is bitter particularly because churchmen, now as in the past, have by their betrayal of Christianity given Mr. Blanshard the opportunity to write such a book.

The well-instructed Catholic will find many things in the book with which he will not agree—things that have to do with the origin, organization and purpose of the Church, and with its teachings regarding faith and morals. But if he is honest and loves the Church as well as its Founder, he will, when he meets the bitter truth, beat his breast and say for the Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, and priests of the Church: "Through my fault, through my fault, through my most grievous fault."

A FREE CATHOLIC: He will not try to defend the indefensible. But at the same time he will not let the disagreeable facts turn him away from his faith. In spite of what Blanshard may write on these subjects, he will go on believing that remarriage of divorced persons, race suicide, murder in all its forms, bigotry and intolerance are contrary to the laws of God. As a free man exercising his God-given freedom he will go on being a member of the Church established by Christ, no matter what other people may think or say or what the consequences may be for him.

As a true Christian he will advocate complete separation of Church and State, and the right of all men to think as they please as long as they do not violate the rights of others.

The true Catholic who knows and lives up to his religion is not and never can be a menace to American freedom. Following the teachings of his Master, he will rather be a standard bearer of freedom for all men everywhere.

AMERICAN FREEDOM AND CATHOLIC POWER. By Paul Blanshard. Beacon Press. $3.50.

About the reviewer

Father Clarence Duffy is an American Catholic priest, formerly in charge of a parish in Ireland, who some years ago received the sanction of the Bishop of Kilmore to undertake social work in the U.S.

(Above) Primitive farming methods in China mean that all must work, even the children. In the New China the farmer will work for himself, not for a landlord; the recurring plagues of warlord locusts are no more. The kids will go to school; all will benefit by the spread of knowledge and modern techniques; machines will come to the fields, and to every child the gift of opportunity.

(Right) In Shanghai, housewives can now shop for their daily rice without anxiety of soaring prices and empty shelves. Under the Kuomintang, 75% of the city's rice requirements were met by ECA. After Chiang's looting, destroying troops left, planning and hard work by the new government restored transportation routes in six weeks; officials stationed at markets smashed rice speculators.

Workers in the factories of China now have time and opportunity for recreation. Between shifts at the Peking Garment Factory, the workers play basketball on a court attached to the plant.

These are the masters of China today—the people of China. To GUARDIAN's Peter Townsend a government worker in faded blue uniform, visiting his family in Shanghai after three guerrilla years in Shantung, spoke for them: "This government's built out of us, out of our struggle. Peace will come the same way. Don't you see how here, by the very fact of our Revolution, the foundations of peace have been sunk deeper, made firmer, not only for China but for the whole world?"

(Above) The Great Chinese Adventure of the U. S. State Dept. is over; $6,000,000,000 to salvage dictator Chiang Kai-shek has been spent in vain; the U. S. Embassy is closed and deserted, and a ragged beggar, symbol of the China that is no more, huddles on the doorstep. (Left, above) These kids have a future.

The first Labor Heroes Congress held in Kihsi mining district in the north-east. Pictured on the banner are Chou En-lai, Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh, Foreign Minister, Chairman and Army Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese Peoples Republic. "We have this government," a Shanghai street-sweeper told Peter Townsend; "it's ours". That's how these workers feel.

As in Dixie, so in China: for generations, mothers have had to go out to the fields before weaning their babies. Dixie is still landlord's heaven; in China the peasant sits on the village committee, and the man who once lorded over him bows respectfully.